

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-09 IO-10 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

INRE-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 CU-02 SAM-01

SAJ-01 AF-06 ACDA-05 ERDA-05 OMB-01 TRSE-00 OES-03

STR-04 NSF-01 EB-07 SIL-01 LAB-04 COME-00 /113 W

----- 014075

O R 031040Z MAY 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2591

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 285

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

USNMR/SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLO/SACLANT/NORFOLK VA

CINCLANT

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

AMEMBASSY ANKARA UNN

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG UNN

AMEMBASSY RABAT UNN

AMEMBASSY TUNIS UNN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 3168

EO: 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG, PARM, EGEN, EEWT, SGEN

SUBJ: CSCE: STAGE II HIGHLIGHTS - APRIL 28 - MAY 2

1. SUMMARY: ANOTHER WEEK OF SOMEWHAT FRENETIC ACTIVITY PRODUCED
FEW CONCRETE RESULTS BUT DEMONSTRATED THE VIRTUALLY UNANIMOUS DE-
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SIRE TO MOVE RAPIDLY TOWARD THE CONCLUSION OF THE CONFERENCE.

SEVERAL KEY WESTERN DELS (E.G. FRENCH AND UK) MADE MAJOR EFFORTS TO MOVE THINGS FORWARD AND PUSHED EC-NINE AND NATO CAUCUSES TO DEVELOP FURTHER FALLBACK POSITIONS FOR USE AT THE RIGHT TIME. THE SOVIETS CONTINUED TO PRETEND NONCHALANCE, BUT THEIR BEHAVIOR SHOWED THAT THEY WERE QUITE EVIDENTLY UNDER GROWING TIME PRESSURE. IN BASKET I, INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS OF QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS SAVING CLAUSE AND EQUAL VALUE OF PRINCIPLES MOVED FORWARD SLOWLY, AND SOVIETS OFFERED FURTHER SIGNAL OF READINESS TO NEGOTIATE ON THRESHOLD FOR NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS WHEN CZECHS FOR FIRST TIME EXPRESSED THIS THRESHOLD NUMERICALLY. BASKET II SUBCOMMITTEES ON COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND OTHER ECONOMIC AREAS MADE GOOD PROGRESS ON SPECIFIC TEXTS. BUT BASKET III NEGOTIATIONS REMAINED DEADLOCKED, WITH LITTLE SIGN OF SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO GIVE IN ON SUCH KEY ISSUES AS WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS. END SUMMARY.

2. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION -- TWO FOUR-POWER MEETINGS AT DELEGATION HEAD LEVEL AND AN ALLIED MEETING WITH REPRESENTATIVE NEUTRALS (SWEDEN, SWITZERLAND, YUGOSLAVIA) POINTED TO TOUGH SLEDDING AHEAD ON A QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES SAVING CLAUSE. NEUTRALS MAINTAINED STRONG OPPOSITION TO MAJOR ELEMENTS OF EXISTING FRENCH TEXT, AND SWITZERLAND PUT FORWARD INFORMALLY FOR ALLIED VIEWS A NEW TEXT WHICH, WHILE PERHAPS MEETING BARE ALLIED REQUIREMENTS, WOULD INVOLVE SUBSTANTIALLY MORE THAN "MINOR RECTIFICATIONS" TO WHICH FRENCH AND SOVIETS HAVE THUS FAR SAID THEIR INSTRUCTIONS LIMIT THEM. SOVIETS MEANWHILE HAVE INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO MAKE ONE SMALL CHANGE IN FRENCH TEXT. SOVIETS AND FRENCH ARE ALSO HOLDING BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS ON KEY LANGUAGE ON EQUAL VALUE AND INTER-RELATIONSHIP OF THE PRINCIPLES, OUTCOME OF WHICH IS INTENDED TO FACILITATE SUBCOMMITTEE PROGRESS ON BOTH TRANSITIONAL PARAGRAPH LEADING INTO PRINCIPLES AND ON FINAL CLAUSES. PENDING PROGRESS IN THOSE DISCUSSIONS SUBCOMMITTEE ESSENTIALLY MARKED TIME, AGREEING INFORMALLY TO SOME LANGUAGE IN TRANSITIONAL PARAGRAPH, WHILE LEAVING ALL KEY ISSUES OPEN, AND GETTING INFORMAL AGREEMENT TO ONE PARAGRAPH FOR THE FINAL CLAUSES. USDEL PUT DOWN MARKER THAT QUESTION OF QUALIFYING PRINCIPLES AS "GUIDING RELATIONS" SHOULD BE CONSIDERED WHEN SUBCOMMITTEE RETURNS TO TRANSITIONAL PARAGRAPH. SPECIAL WORKING BODY ON IMPLEMENTATION MADE NO PROGRESS ON SWISS PROPOSAL ON PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES.

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3. MILITARY SECURITY -- AT BEGINNING OF WEEK SOVIETS CONFIRMED THEIR WILLINGNESS TO NOTIFY "ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS" MANEUVERS IN WHICH THEIR TROOPS WERE ENGAGED ANYWHERE IN EUROPE OUTSIDE USSR. THEY CONTINUED TO INSIST, HOWEVER, THAT MANEUVERS WITHIN USSR WOULD BE NOTIFIED ONLY IF THEY TOOK PLACE WITHIN 100 KMS FROM TERRITORY OF ANOTHER EUROPEAN PARTICIPATING STATE. SOVIET ALLIES ALSO REITERATED THAT THEY WOULD NOTIFY MANEUVERS OF THEIR FORCES ON THEIR

OWN TERRITORIES ONLY WITHIN 100 KM BORDER ZONES. THROUGHOUT MOST OF WEEK, EASTERN AND NATO REPS PLAYED UP THE FLEXIBILITY THAT THEIR OWN SIDE HAD ALREADY DEMONSTRATED AND PRESSED FOR RECIPROCITY. AT MAY 2 INFORMAL MEETING SOVIETS SUBSTANTIATED, TO A DEGREE, THEIR EARLIER HINTS OF FLEXIBILITY ON THRESHOLD PARAMETER. THEIR STANDARD POSITION HAD BEEN THAT THRESHOLD SHOULD BE SET AT LEVEL OF ARMY CORPS BUT THAT A SPECIFIC NUMBER OF TROOPS COULD BE STIPULATED AS AN EQUIVALENT OF AN ARMY CORPS FOR STATES WHOSE ARMED FORCES DID NOT HAVE SUCH UNITS. FOR OVER A YEAR, SOVIETS HAD RESISTED SPECIFYING THIS NUMBER BUT AT MAY 2 MEETING CZECH REP SAID THAT IT COULD BE SET AT AROUND 40,000. ALLIED AND NEUTRAL REPS SAID THIS WAS VERY HELPFUL INFORMATION, THOUGH NUMBER WAS, IN THEIR VIEW, TOO HIGH. DEBATE ON THIS AND OTHER PARAMETERS IS EXPECTED TO CONTINUE NEXT WEEK. MEANWHILE, IN ANTICIPATION OF SOME FURTHER MOVEMENT ON PART OF SOVIETS IN COMING WEEKS, ALLIES AGREED AT CAUCUS ON FALLBACK POSITIONS ON TIMING (30 DAYS), THRESHOLD (15,000 - 16,000) AND AREA OF APPLICATION FOR USSR (500 KM BORDER ZONE) BUT DEFERRED DECISION ON WHEN TO RESORT TO THESE POSITIONS.

4. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY -- SUB-COMMITTEE ON COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES MADE GOOD PROGRESS DURING WEEK,

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OES-03 STR-04 NSF-01 EB-07 SIL-01 LAB-04 COME-00 /113 W

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FM USMISSON GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2592

INFO ALL CSCE CAPS 286

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY RABAT
AMEMBASSY SOFIA 290
AMEMBASSY TUNIS
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR
USDOCOSOUTH
USLO SAACLANT NORFOLK VA
CINCLANT
USDEL SALT TWO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 3168

REACHING AGREEMENT ON TWO PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPHS. ONE INCLUDED A REFERENCE TO THE CONTRIBUTION OF TRADE TO PRODUCT CHOICE, A CONCEPT SOVIETS HAD PREVIOUSLY LONG RESISTED. WORK ON BASKET II PREUMBLE IN FULL COMMITTEE, HOWEVER, WAS COMPLETELY UPSET BY NEW AND CONTROVERSIAL FRENCH PROPOSAL CONCERNING TEXT ON DEVELOPING COUNTRIES
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AND IMPLEMENTATION OF UN RESOLUTIONS ON DEVELOPMENT. IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY SUBCOMMITTEE SOVIETS SOMEWHAT REDUCED THEIR SWEEPING PROPOSALS FOR REVISION OF AGREED TEXTS. SOVIET DEMANDS NOW EMPHASIZE ELIMINATING REPETITION OF CERTAIN PHRASES, MANY OF WHICH CONTAIN WESTERN BASKET III RELATED IDEAS. CANADA MADE COUNTER PROPOSAL WHICH WOULD KEEP KEY WESTERN POINTS WHILE ELIMINATING SOME DUPLICATION. SUBCOMMITTEE ON OTHER ECONOMIC AREAS FINALIZED TEXT ON TRAINING OF PROFESSIONAL STAFF. EXCEPT FOR ORDERING OF TEXTS, ONLY REMAINING SUBCOMMITTEE WORK IS ONE PARA IN MIGRANT LABOR TEXT.

5. HUMANITARIN COOPERATION--NEGOTIATING PROGRESS WAS NIL IN HUMAN CONTACTS AND INFORMATION. IN HUMAN CONTACTS SUBCOMMITTEE BULGARIANS WITH SOVIET SUPPORT PRODUCED A NEW DRAFT OF THE FIRST PARA OF THE TRAVEL TEXT, WHICH WAS A THROWBACK TO LAST FALL. SOVIETS SIMPLY FILIBUSTERED IN INFORMAL MEETINGS ON WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS, EVIDENTLY TRYING TO SHOW THAT MOSCOW IS UNDER NO TIME PRESSURE. MEANWHILE, EC-NINE CAUCUS HAMMERED OUT FURTHER COMPROMISE DRAFTS FOR REMAINING HUMAN CONTACTS AND INFORMATION SUBJECTS, FOR USE WHEN TIME IS RIGHT. SUBCOMMITTEE ON CULTURE REACHED AGREEMENT ON SUBSTANCE OF TEXT COVERING RELATIVELY NON-CONTROVERSIAL AGENDA ITEM ON CULTURAL EXCHANGES.
HOWEVER, GROUP STOPPED SHORT OF REGISTERING DOCUMENT AS

SEVERAL DELEGATIONS LINKED THIS STEP TO SIMILAR ACTION ON CERTAIN OUTSTANDING TEXTS CONCERNING ACCESS, ON WHICH SOVIETS HAVE STONEWALLED SINCE LAST DECEMBER. MEANWHILE, DURING DISCUSSIONS IN NEW MINI-GROUP, SOVIETS TOOK HARD LINE ON WESTERN PROPOSALS REGARDING CONTACTS AMONG CREATIVE ARTISTS AND NO PROGRESS ON THIS KEY ISSUE WAS ACHIEVED. SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION REMAINED STALLED ON CONTROVERSIAL YUGOSLAV PROPOSAL ON NATIONAL MINORITIES, WITH WP SEEKING TO SHIFT ONUS FOR REJECTING IT ONTO WESTERN SHOULDERS.

6. MEDITERRANEAN--WORKING GROUP CAME CLOSE TO AGREEMENT ON A FURTHER PREAMBULAR PARA FOR MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION. HOWEVER, STORM WARNINGS ARE NOW DEFINITELY UP ON LIKELIHOOD THAT MALTESE MAY HAVE NEW INSTRUCTIONS
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TO PURSUE THE QUESTION OF A RELATIONSHIP FOR NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES WITH CSCE FOLLOW-UP. SOVIETS HAVE INFORMALLY WARNED MALTESE THAT THIS MIGHT WELL PUT OFF COMPLETION OF DECLARATION UNTIL END OF STATE II.

7. FINAL DOCUMENTS AND STAGE III7-WITH COORDINATING COMMITTEE DISCUSSION OF ORGANIZATION OF FINAL DOCUMENTS STALLED OVER QUESTION OF ONE VERSUS SEVERAL SIGNATURES, WORKING GROUP ON ORGANIZATION OF STAGE III HELD TWO MEETINGS WHICH FOCUSED ON LESS CONTROVERSIAL ASPECTS OF STAGE III. GENERAL TENDENCY EMERGED TO FOLLOW, INsofar AS POSSIBLE, PROCEDURES OUTLINED IN THE HELSINKI RECOMMENDATIONS AND PRECEDENTS ESTABLISHED DURING STAGE I.

8. FOLLOW-UP--WORKING GROUP CONTINUED TO FLOUNDER, WITH ROMANIANS, SUPPORTED BY A NUMBER OF EASTERN AND NEUTRAL DELS, TRYING TO DEVELOP A CASE FOR AN ACTIVE FOLLOW-UP STRUCTURE, ON THE GROUNDS THAT SUCH A STRUCTURE WILL BE NEEDED TO IMPLEMENT CSCE DECISIONS, FOR INSTANCE THROUGH EXPERTS' MEETINGS AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. IN VIEW OF WESTERN OPPOSITION THIS EFFORT HAS NOT MOVED DRAFTING WORK VERY FAR.

9. COMMENT: CONFERENCE PRESSURES CONTINUED TO BUILD THIS WEEK, WITH SEVERAL WESTERN DELEGATIONS (E.G. FRENCH AND UK) TAKING INITIATIVES WITHIN THE EC-9 AND NATO CAUCUSES TO MOVE THINGS FORWARD. THE FRENCH AND UK EFFORTS WERE PLAINLY DESIGNED TO IDENTIFY A FEW ESSENTIAL POINTS AND TO DEVELOP COMPROMISE POSITIONS ON LESS ESSENTIAL ITEMS. THESE MOVES GAVE AN APPEARANCE OF A CERTAIN FEELING OF URGENCY ON THE PART OF THESE DELEGATIONS, WHICH WAS REFLECTED MOST OPENLY WHEN THE

FRENCH DELEGATION HEUD, AS CHAIRMAN OF THE WORKING GROUP ON THE ORGANIZATION OF STAGE III, TRIED (UN-SUCCESSFULLY) TO RAM THROUGH SEVERAL DECISIONS ON LESS CONTENTIOUS PRACTICAL QUESTIONS RELATING TO STAGE III, SUCH AS RULES OF PROCEDURE AND CHAIRMANSHIP.

THIS ATTITUDE IS FOR THE MOMENT BALANCED BY THE MORE RETICENT APPROACH OF THE DUTCH, ITALIANS, AND (LESS CONFIDENTIAL

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EMPHATICALLY) THE FRG, WHO SHARE THE VIEW THAT IT IS NOW UP TO THE SOVIETS TO MAKE THE BASIC MOVES WHICH ARE NEEDED TO CONCLUDE STAGE III ON APPROXIMATELY THE SCHEDULE THEY DESIRE.

10. THE SOVIETS ARE CONTINUING TO PRETEND THAT THEY ARE NOT UNDER ANY TIME PRESSURE, AND THAT THE WEST WILL SIMPLY HAVE TO ACCEPT SOVIET VIEWS TO FINISH THE KEY CONFERENCE ISSUES OF CBMS AND BASKET III. BUT THEIR BEHAVIOUR BETRAYS A GREATER ANXIETY THAN THEY KNOW. HIGH LEVEL SOVIET DELEGATION MEMBERS SEEK URGENT PRIVATE MEETINGS WITH WESTERN NEGOTIATORS IN THE EVENINGS AND ON WEEKENDS TO PRESS FOR AGREEMENT. THE SOVIET DELEGATION HEAD HIMSELF UNCHARACTERISTICALLY SHOWS UP AT EVEN RELATIVELY UNIMPORTANT MEETINGS, AND SOVIET CONCESSIONS, MINISCULE THOUGH THEY MAY BE, COME FORWARD UNUSUALLY QUICKLY. WE INTERPRET THESE SIGNS AS INDICATIONS THAT THE CONFERENCE MAY BE BUILDING UP TO A NEGOTIATING WATERSHED. END COMMENT. DALE

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